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ABSTRACT

This teaching unit represents a specific "dramatic moment" in history that can allow students to delve into the deeper meanings of selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative. Studying a crucial turning point in history helps students realize that history is an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions made today create the conditions of tomorrow's history. This unit portrays the complexities of South Africa's past so that middle and high school students might understand that South Africa's history is not simply the story of white racial oppression or of black heroic resistance. The unit is based on primary sources taken from documents, artifacts, journals, diaries, newspapers, and literature from the period under study. Within the unit are teaching background materials, including unit overview, unit context, correlation to the National Standards for History unit objectives, an introduction to South African dilemmas in the twentieth century, and lesson plans with student resources. The teacher background section of the unit provides an overview of the entire unit with the historical information and context necessary to link the specific "dramatic moment" to the larger historical narrative. The unit's lesson plans include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher that can be lengthened or shortened. The lesson plans contain student resources that accompany each lesson and consist of primary source documents, handouts, student background materials, and a 30-item bibliography. (BT)

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South African Dilemmas

in the

Twentieth Century

A Unit of Study for Grades 9–12

William G. Bowles
James O. Gump

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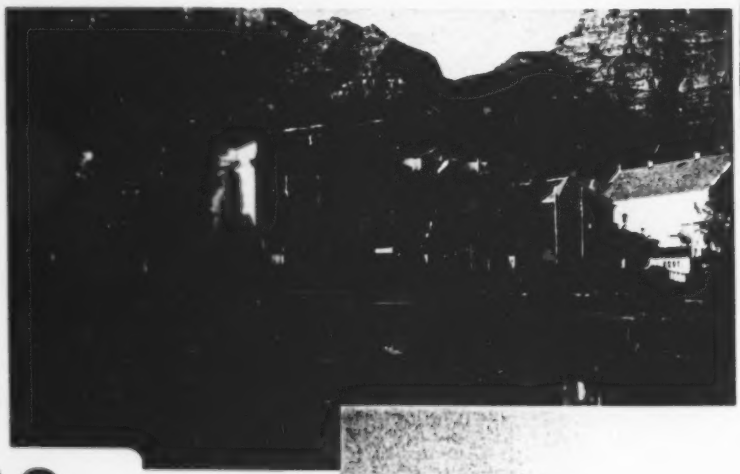

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A Unit of Study for Grades 9–12

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Marian McKenna Olivas was the layout and photo editor.

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Introduction

Approach and Rationale

South African Dilemmas in the Twentieth Century is one of over 60 National Center for History in the Schools teaching units that are the fruit of collaborations between history professors and experienced teachers of both United States and World History. The units represent specific dramatic episodes in history from which you and your students can pause to delve into the deeper meanings of selected landmark events and explore their wider context in the great historical narrative.

By studying a crucial episode in history, the student becomes aware that choices had to be made by real human beings, that those decisions were the result of specific factors, and that they set in motion a series of historical consequences. We have selected dramatic moments that best bring alive that decision-making process. We hope that through this approach, your students will realize that history in an ongoing, open-ended process, and that the decisions they make today create the conditions of tomorrow's history.

Our teaching units are based on primary sources, taken from documents, artifacts, journals, diaries, newspapers and literature from the period under study. What we hope to achieve using primary source documents in these lessons is to remove the distance that students feel from historical events and to connect them more intimately with the past. In this way we hope to recreate for your students a sense of "being there," a sense of seeing history through the eyes of the very people who were making decisions. This will help your students develop historical empathy, to realize that history is not an impersonal process divorced from real people like themselves. At the same time, by analyzing primary sources, students will actually practice the historian's craft, discovering for themselves how to analyze evidence, establish a valid interpretation and construct a coherent narrative in which all the relevant factors play a part.

Content and Organization

Within this unit, you will find: Teaching Background Materials, including Unit Overview, Unit Context, Correlation to the National Standards for History Unit Objectives, Introduction to *South African Dilemmas in the Twentieth Century;* A Dramatic Moment; and Lesson Plans with Student Resources. This unit, as we have said above, focuses on certain key moments in time and should be used as a supplement to your customary course materials. Although these lessons are recommended for use by high school students, they can be adapted for other grade levels.

The Teacher Background section should provide you with a good overview of the entire unit and with the historical information and context necessary to link the specific Dramatic Moment to the larger historical narrative. You may consult it for your

own use, and you may choose to share it with students if they are of a sufficient grade level to understand the materials.

The Lesson Plans include a variety of ideas and approaches for the teacher which can be elaborated upon or cut as you see the need. These lesson plans contain student resources which accompany each lesson. The resources consist of primary source documents, any handouts or student background materials, and a bibliography.

In our series of teaching units, each collection can be taught in several ways. You can teach all of the lessons offered on any given topic, or you can select and adapt the ones that best support your particular course needs. We have not attempted to be comprehensive or prescriptive in our offerings, but rather to give you an array of enticing possibilities for in-depth study, at varying grade levels. We hope that you will find the lesson plans exciting and stimulating for your classes. We also hope that your students will never again see history as a boring sweep of inevitable facts and meaningless dates but rather as an endless treasure of real life stories and an exercise in analysis and reconstruction.

Teacher Background Materials

I. Unit Overview

South Africans of all colors have faced many dilemmas in the twentieth century. Whites have faced predicaments over how to reconcile the European ethnic groups–Afrikaner-speaking and English-speaking–in the wake of the South African War of 1899–1902; how to maintain cheap labor supplies for mines and industries; how, as a racial minority, to preserve white supremacy; and how to share power with the black majority without sacrificing white privilege. The solution of the white government to these various quandaries—segregation and apartheid (apartness)—imposed its own cruel dilemmas for blacks, whose struggle to resist racial oppression paved the way for the establishment of nonracial democracy in 1994.

An understanding of apartheid's creation, growth, and eventual demise will deepen students' grasp of this oppressive system and serve as a reminder to protect the freedoms we have gained. Important to this understanding is an ability both to examine the origins of racist ideas and to analyze the importance of individuals who led the struggle for democratic, economic and social reform in South Africa. The role of individuals acting on their beliefs and consciences was critical to the successful abolition of apartheid. Finally, students will examine how the end of apartheid and the creation of a society moving towards a nonracial democracy brought with it many problems that are still a source of contention in South Africa today.

Our goal in writing this teaching unit is to portray the complexity of the South African past. We want middle and high school students to understand that that country's history is not simply the story of white racial oppression or of black heroic resistance. Rather, it reveals many layers of conflict, ambiguity, tragedy, and hope.

II. Unit Context

This unit may be taught with a unit on African decolonization. It can also serve as a supplement to commonly taught topics in twentieth-century world history including units focusing on the struggle for human rights and the rising tide of democracy. It may also be used for comparative study in an American history unit dealing with the civil rights movement.

III. Correlation to the National History Standards

South African Dilemmas in the Twentieth Century provides teaching materials that address the National Standards for History, Basic Edition (National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA, 1996), **World History, Era 9**, "The 20th Century Since 1945: Promises and Paradoxes." Lessons specifically address **Standard 2C** on how liberal democracy, market economies, and human rights movements have reshaped political and social life and **Standard 3A** on major global trends since World War II. This unit may also be useful in addressing **Era 7**, "An Age of Revolutions," **Standard 5B** on the causes and consequences of European settler colonization in the 19th century.

IV. Unit Objectives

1. To analyze the growth and development of South Africa through the 20th century.
2. To examine how ideas about race, culture, and nation shaped apartheid and subsequent South African history.
3. To analyze the political and legal means used by the advocates of apartheid to maintain this rigid system of racial segregation.
4. To evaluate the methods used by different resistance groups in South Africa to abolish apartheid and to create a nonracial democracy in its place.
5. To study and compare various kinds of historical evidence, analyzing it for reliability and significance.

V. Lesson Plans

1. Events Leading to Apartheid in South Africa.
2. The Development of Afrikaner Consciousness: Moral and Ethical Justifications for Apartheid.
3. The Rise of African Militancy Against Apartheid.
4. Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement.
5. States of Emergency
6. Nelson Mandela and the New South Africa.

VI. Introductory and Follow-up Activities

1. Ask students what they know about apartheid in South Africa. If students are unfamiliar with the term, you may wish to use the term 'segregation' and talk about this American legal phenomenon as the starting point for discussion. Ask students to brainstorm and list ideas on the blackboard: What is apartheid (segregation)? How does it work? What means might a government use to get people to follow the rules in such a system? How might these rules be changed? (Some possibilities to look for: laws strictly enforced by police and military, change brought about through civil disobedience or armed revolt).

2. Share with the class the **Dramatic Moment**, an excerpt from Mark Mathabane's experiences growing up in apartheid South Africa narrated in the book *Kaffir Boy*. Guide a discussion of the reading. What means did the police use to control people? Focus on the themes of police violence, the climate of fear and insecurity, and living conditions. Tie the discussion back to the brainstorm done earlier.

3. A summative assessment exercise for the whole unit might include staging a mock trial of apartheid. Participants are assigned the following roles: prosecutor, defense attorney, judge, members of jury, and witnesses. After completing the unit and doing adequate research, participants put "Apartheid on Trial."

VII. Historical Introduction to *South African Dilemmas in the Twentieth Century*

When the Dutch East India Company established a refreshment station at Cape Town in 1652, the first European settlement in South Africa, whites encountered Khoisan (Khoikhoi—herders; San—hunter-gatherers) who had inhabited the region for thousands of years. By 1657, some of these Europeans settled at the Cape, occupying the traditional lands of the Khoikhoi and confiscating their cattle. The ensuing warfare weakened indigenous resistance, transforming many Khoikhoi into menial laborers for white farmers and pushing the San into the dry interior. Meanwhile, the growing European settler population (a mixture of Dutch, German, and French, coalescing as "Afrikaners" or "Boers") imported slaves from Asia and East Africa. Whites came to depend on blacks for all forms of unskilled and coercive labor. Thus, a distinct racial hierarchy of white over black was established early in modern South African history.

Nonetheless, white racial assumptions received a jolt in the late 1700s when Europeans encountered the more populous and organized Bantu-speaking farmers (Xhosa) who inhabited the eastern Cape frontier. North of the Xhosa, an even more powerful Bantu-speaking people, the Zulu, organized a centralized kingdom in the second decade of the 1800s under the leadership of Shaka. By the early 1800s, competition be-

tween white farmers and Xhosa over the eastern Cape's fertile *zuurveld* region resulted in a military stalemate. At precisely this time (1806), the British, locked in competition with Napoleon's French Empire for global military supremacy, occupied the Cape Colony. The British presence shifted the military balance of power in favor of the white communities in the eastern Cape frontier, leading to the dissolution of the Xhosa chiefdoms. Britain also instituted new legislation to govern the various peoples in South Africa, acts that included the abolition of the slave trade (1807) and slavery itself (1834). Laws such as these that interfered with European labor supplies and implied racial "leveling" provoked many Afrikaners to leave the Cape Colony. Beginning in the mid-1830s, this Afrikaner exodus to the highveld, known as the Great Trek, expanded the zone of intergroup conflict from the eastern Cape into the South African interior.

The immediate result of the Great Trek was the foundation of new Afrikaner republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State) in 1852 and 1854, a state-making process facilitated by the demographic chaos of the *mfecane*. The *mfecane* (or *difaqane*) on the *highveld* interior delineates an African time of troubles ignited by the emergence of Shaka's Zulu kingdom. Shaka's conquests contributed to the famine, migration, and human suffering that affected a large portion of southeastern Africa in the 1820s and 1830s. Another immediate legacy of the *mfecane/difaqane* was the formation of Lesotho ("Basutoland") under the leadership of Moshoeshoe. In 1843, Britain annexed the Natal Colony and continued to crush African resistance, most strikingly in the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879. Britain's interests in South Africa peaked in the latter third of the nineteenth century with the discovery of diamonds (1867) and gold (1887). This mineral revolution provides the context for the outbreak of the South African ("Boer") War (1899-1902), in which troops from throughout the British Empire defeated the defenders of the Afrikaner republics. Despite Britain's victory, the constitutional settlement, resulting in the independent Union of South Africa in 1910, excluded the black majority from the national political process.

Blacks, who had fought on both sides during the South African War, expressed outrage. In protest they formed in 1912 the South African Native National Congress (later known as the African National Congress, or ANC). Excluded from national politics, the ANC could not block the passage of the Natives' Land Act of 1913, which designated African reserves, placed severe restrictions on African land ownership elsewhere, and outlawed sharecropping in the Orange Free State. Policies soon followed that sanctioned urban segregation and job reservation. Such laws, which served to maintain a cheap and manageable black labor force, were also constructed to resolve lingering ethnic and class tensions among whites. Ethnic hostility between Afrikaners and British became particularly acute during World War I, as many Boers supported Germany. After the war, class conflict erupted in the Rand Rebellion of 1922. This European miner's strike, suppressed brutally by the Smuts' government, gave rise to a labor-nationalist coalition in 1924 that imposed additional legal restrictions on Africans.

Despite these external constraints, coupled with crippling internal divisions, blacks adapted and resisted during the interwar years. The Industrial and Commercial Work-

ers' Union (ICU), which formed between 1919 and 1928, represented one of the most impressive efforts of African mobilization at this time. By the 1930s the ICU collapsed under the weight of corruption, mismanagement, and government repression. Despite this, the African urban working class experienced unprecedented growth during the next two decades, buoyed especially by economic expansion during World War II. The interwar period also witnessed the resurgence of Afrikaner nationalism. In 1943 Daniel Malan founded the Purified National Party, a forerunner of the National Party. Supported by the Broederbond (Brotherhood), a secret society of the Afrikaner intellectual elite, the Purified National Party stressed Afrikaner solidarity. It coordinated the centennial celebrations of the Great Trek in 1938, which culminated in the laying of the foundation stone of the Voortrekker Monument near Pretoria. These expressions of Afrikaner nationalism culminated in the National Party's stunning election victory in 1948. The Nationalists played on the fears of many whites over the state of race relations in South Africa, especially the issue of preserving white supremacy in the changing urban landscape. The National Party seemed to offer a plausible solution—the doctrine of apartheid (apartness), which promised a more systematic approach to segregation and a more modern version of racial domination.

The era of apartheid proceeded through three phases: 1) classical white supremacy (1948-1960); 2) separate development (1961-1976); and 3) multiracial co-option (1977-1989). The first phase of apartheid witnessed the passage of the Population Registration Act (1950), which classified people according to race, and the Group Areas Act (1950), which required specific "racial" groups to reside in racially zoned areas. In addition, the Nationalists enacted security legislation that vastly empowered the state to arrest and detain individuals and organizations. In one of the government's most injurious actions, the so-called Bantu Education Act of 1953, the delivery of separate and purposefully inferior education for blacks became the state's mission and prerogative. Hendrik Verwoerd, who became Prime Minister of South Africa between 1958 and 1966, conceived many of the laws of the first phase of apartheid.

The second phase of apartheid, separate development, matured under Prime Minister B. J. Vorster, who served from 1966 to 1978. During this era, the South African government sought to transform the African reserves ("Bantustans" or "Homelands") into self-governing states. This farcical design, the so-called "Homeland" policy, theoretically set aside 13% of fragmented bits of South African land as reserves for three-fourths of the country's total population. The policy bore a tragic face because approximately four million blacks were forcibly relocated to poverty-stricken "Homelands" between 1960 and 1990. In effect, these areas constituted reservoirs of cheap labor as well as dumping grounds for "superfluous" people.

The Soweto riots of 1976, a reaction to "Bantu" education, prompted a transition to the third and final phase of apartheid, multiracial co-option. The principal leader during this phase, Prime Minister and later State President P. W. Botha, engineered a series of political and economic reforms, including the adoption of a "power-sharing" constitution in 1984. The most immediate effect of these reforms was to alienate the black ma-

jority and provoke a widespread struggle to end apartheid. Resistance to the system has a long history. During the 1950s, the ANC revived under a new generation of leaders, including Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and Oliver Tambo. In 1955 the new ANC leadership organized civil disobedience campaigns and championed the Freedom Charter. In 1959, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) split from the ANC, adopting a black consciousness strategy. In 1960 the PAC organized an anti-pass law campaign that was shattered by South African police at Sharpeville. Following the Sharpeville massacre, the government banned the ANC, PAC, and South African Communist Party (SACP). In response, these organizations went underground, launching guerrilla warfare against the state. In 1963-1964, Mandela and other prominent ANC and PAC leaders were arrested, tried for treason, and sentenced to life imprisonment. Steve Biko's Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) filled the political vacuum at home. Tensions stemming from the Soweto riots, combined with the popularity of BCM, marked Biko as a threat to internal security. Hence, Biko was arrested for his activities and murdered in prison in 1977.

Anti-apartheid resistance persisted and broadened during the 1980s, most notably with the formation of the United Democratic Front in 1983. Under Botha, the government responded with massive repression within the country and a campaign of destabilization throughout the region. A National Security Management System utilized surveillance and coercion to smother the opposition. By the end of the 1980s however, South Africa had reached a state of violent equilibrium—a government that could not be overthrown and a spirit of mass resistance that could not be crushed. In addition, the costs of administering apartheid, including the burden of international sanctions, had become prohibitive. In this context Botha resigned in 1989 and was replaced by F. W. de Klerk. In early 1990, de Klerk called for the unbanning of the ANC and the release of Mandela. Multi-party negotiations ensued to establish a nonracial democracy based on the principle of one person, one vote. Despite these promising measures, violence escalated between supporters of the ANC and the followers of Inkatha, a Zulu nationalist organization. Nonetheless, in late 1993 the negotiating parties endorsed an interim constitution. Nationwide elections followed in April 1994, resulting in an ANC victory. Nelson Mandela was sworn in as president and formed a Government of National Unity. Mandela's regime witnessed the establishment of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (1996–1998), designed to promote national harmony and to engage all South Africans in an honest reappraisal of their past. Whether or not the work of the Commission bears fruit in the twenty first century remains to be seen.

Dramatic Moment
Police Raid

That night we went to sleep with the rumors of an imminent police raid hanging over the neighbourhood like a dark cloud.

"We will have to leave before daybreak," I heard my mother say to my father as we prepared to go to sleep. "That way when the raid comes we won't be here." Upon hearing that Florah and I tensed and grew frightened. My mother calmed us.

"Don't believe the rumors, woman," my father said with an air of authority. "There won't be any raid. Weren't the police here just today? People are just scared. They are always scared. They always will be scared."

"But everybody says they're coming," my mother insisted; "It's the start of Operation Clean-up Month, remember?"

"Woman," my father said sternly, "I tell you there won't be any raid. It's just another false rumor."

But a raid was coming. A little after midnight, while everybody was sound asleep and snoring and dreaming, the police invaded the neighbourhood.

"OPEN UP!" Fists banged at the kitchen door. "IT'S PERI-URBAN!"

For a minute I thought I was dreaming because from outside there suddenly erupted the same volcano of noise of a day ago. Dogs barked. People shrieked and shouted and ran. Sirens screamed. Children screamed. Doors and windows smashed. Feet clumped. I tossed and turned as if in a nightmare, but the persistent pounding and kicking at the door, and the muffled voices coming from the bedroom convinced me otherwise.

"OPEN UP OR WE'LL BREAK IT DOWN!" demanded the police more loudly.

Source: Reprinted from Mark Mathabane, *Kaffir Boy* (New York: New American Library, 1986), pp. 15-18.

Lesson One
Events Leading to Apartheid in South Africa

A. Objectives

1. Students analyze change over time in South Africa.

2. Students analyze how geography influences history.

3. Students evaluate the role of legislation in creating the setting for apartheid.

B. Lesson Activities

1. As the teacher presents an overview of South African history using the **Table of Dates (Student Handout 1)**, students analyze maps showing the country's history. **Maps 1**, **2**, and **3** (**Student Handouts 2**, **3**, and **4**) may be used as overhead transparencies.

2. Have students read Sol Plaatje's account of the effect of the Native Land Act of 1913 (**Document A**) on the indigenous people.

3. Have students write a letter to the editor protesting the Native Land Act and the conditions it brought on. Use Plaatje's account as a source.

C. Teacher Background Material

By 1910, when the Union of South Africa was formed, the country had been conquered by whites. Many Bantu-speaking Africans practiced farming in reserves or on land they bought from whites. Over time, however, laws limiting land ownership became more restrictive. The most important of these laws was the Natives Land Act of 1913, prohibiting the purchase or leasing of land outside of the reserves. In addition, the law reduced all Africans in white owned rural areas to tenant or wage laborers. This caused great hardships to black Africans, particularly in the Orange Free State. In his book *Native Life in South Africa*, Sol Plaatje, the first secretary of the African National Congress, described the plight of African sharecroppers who had been forced from their farms as a result of the Natives Land Act.

EFFECTS OF THE NATIVES LAND ACT OF 1913
Primary Source

The natives were at first inclined to laugh at the idea of working for a master with their families and goods and chattels [slaves], and then to have the additional pleasure of paying for their own small wages, besides bringing money to pay the "Baas" (boss) for employing them . . . But the Dutchman's serious demeanour told them that his suggestion was "no joke."... He could only "employ" them; but, as he had no money to pay wages, their cattle would have to go out and earn it for him. 'Had they not heard of the law before?' he inquired.

Needless to say the natives did not see their way to agree with such a one-sided bargain. They moved up-country, but only to find the next farmer offering the same terms, however with a good many more disturbing details—and the next farmer and the next—so that after this native farmer had wandered from farm to farm, occasionally getting into trouble for traveling with unknown stock, "across my ground without permission," and at times escaping arrest for he knew not what, and further, being abused for the crimes of having a black skin and no master, he sold some of his stock along the way, besides losing many which died of cold and starvation; and after having lost much of his substance, he eventually worked his way back to Bloemhof with the remainder, sold them for anything they could fetch, and went to work for a digger [miner].

Source: Sol T. Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa* (London, 1916; Reprint, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1982), 79–80.

Sol T. Plaatje flyer
African National Congress, n.d.

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TABLE OF DATES

Early millennia	Ancestors of the Khoisan (Khoikhoi and San) living in Southern Africa.
By A.D. 300	Ancestors of the Bantu-speaking majority of the South African population settle within the boundaries of modern South Africa.
1652	The Dutch East India Company founds a refreshment station at the Cape of Good Hope.
1652-1795	Expansion of Afrikaners; conquest of Khoisan; importation of slaves from Indonesia, India, Ceylon, Madagascar, and Mozambique.
1795, 1806	Britain conquers and reconquers the Cape Colony from the Dutch.
1816-28	Formation of the Zulu kingdom under Shaka; the *mfecane* (*difaqane*) ensues.
1834-38	Cape colonial slaves emancipated.
1834-53	Xhosa defeated in a series of frontier wars against British and colonial troops.
1835-40	Five thousand Afrikaners (later known as voortrekkers) leave the Cape Colony with their "Coloured" clients; a movement later known as the Great Trek.
1838	Afrikaner commando under the leadership of Andries Pretorius defeats Dingane's Zulu army at Blood River.
1856-57	The Xhosa cattle-killing; over 40,000 Xhosa die of starvation.
1867	Diamonds discovered in Griqualand West.
1879	British and colonial forces conquer the Zulu after losing a regiment at Isandhlwana.
1886	Gold-bearing reef discovered on the Witwatersrand.
1895-96	Leander Starr Jameson leads an unsuccessful raid into the Transvaal.

1898	Transvaal commandos conquer the Venda, completing the white conquest of the African population of Southern Africa.
1899-1902	The South African (Boer) War: Britain conquers the Afrikaner republics.
1906-7	Britain gives parliamentary government to the former republics; only whites enfranchised.
1910	The Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State join to form the Union of South Africa.
1912	South African Native National Congress founded; later becomes the African National Congress (ANC).
1913	Native Lands Act limits African land ownership to the reserves; the beginning of a series of segregation laws.
1914-19	As a member of the British Empire, South Africa participates in World War I.
1922	White strikers subdued by government troops in the Rand Rebellion.
1934	Founding of the Purified National Party, forerunner of the National Party.
1938	Afrikaner centennial trek culminates in the laying of foundation stone of the Voortrekker Monument on a hill outside Pretoria.
1939-45	South Africa participates in World War II on the Allied side.
1948	The Afrikaner National party wins a general election and begins to apply its policy of apartheid.
1950	The Population Registration Act classifies people by race; the Group Areas Act makes people reside in racially zoned areas. Security legislation gives the government vast powers over people and organizations.
1952	The ANCand its allies launch a passive resistance campaign.
1958-66	Hendrik Verwoerd is prime minister.
1959	Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) founded.

1960	Police kill 67 African anti-pass-law demonstrators at Sharpeville; the government bans African political organizations.
1961	South Africa becomes a republic and leaves the BritishCommonwealth.
1964	Nelson Mandela and other ANC and PAC leaders sentenced to life imprisonment.
1966-68	Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland become independent states.
1966-78	B. J. Vorster is prime minister.
1976-77	At least 575 people die in confrontations between Africans and police in Soweto and other African townships.
1976-1981	The government grants "independence" to the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, and the Ciskei Homelands, but they are not recognized abroad.
1977	The U.N. Security Council imposes a mandatory embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa.
1978-84	P. W. Botha is prime minister.
1979	African trade unions can register and gain access to the industrial court and the right to strike.
1981-88	South African forces invade Angola and make hit-and-run raids into Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Zambia; ANC guerrillas sabotage South African cities.
1983	United Democratic Front (UDF) formed.
1984-86	Prolonged and widespread resistance to the regime in black South African townships; violent government reactions.
1984	A new constitution gives Asians and Coloureds but not Africans limited participation in the central government; Botha becomes state president.
1984-86	Prolonged and widespread resistance to the regime in black South African townships and violent government reactions.
1986	Pass laws repealed.

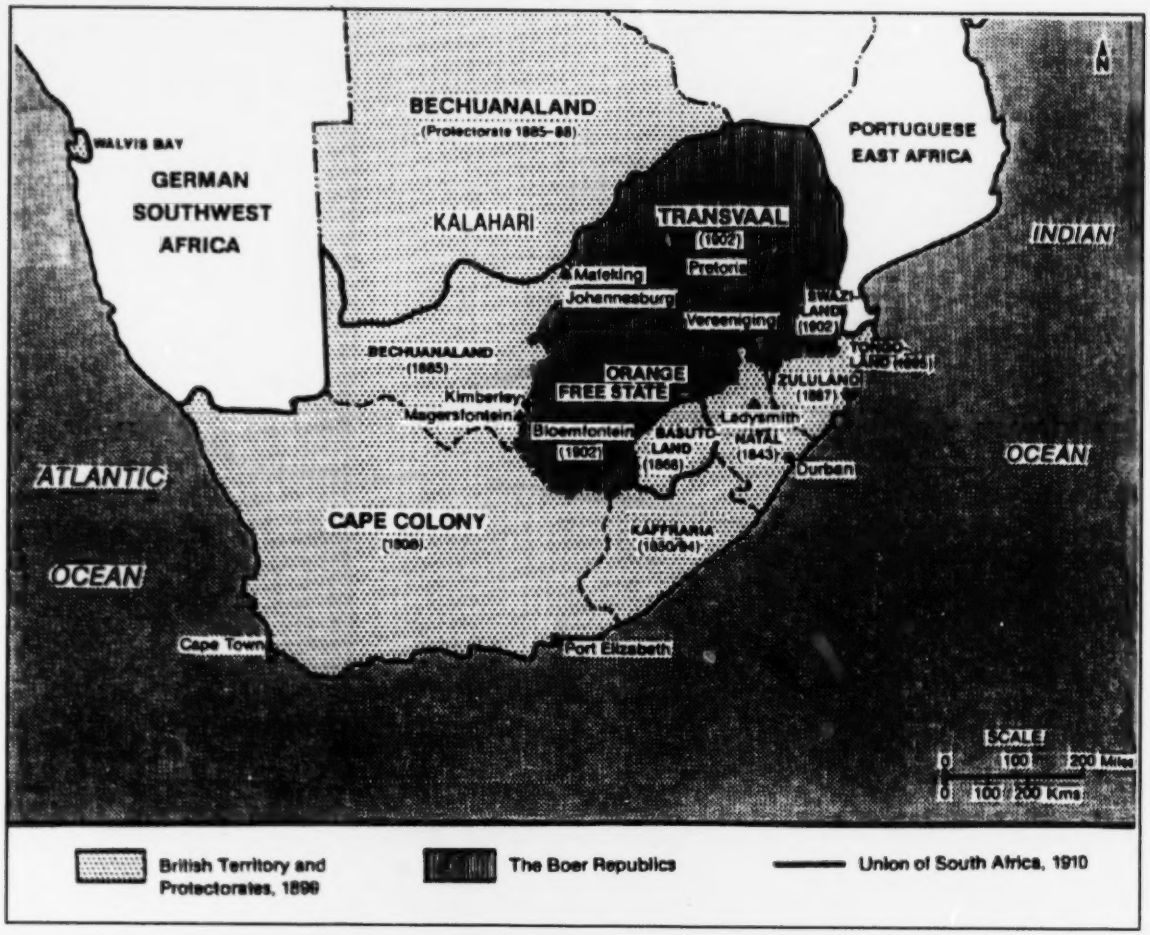
1986	The government proclaims a nationwide state of emergency, detains thousands of people, and prohibits the press, radio, and television from reporting unrest.
1986	The U.S. Congress passes the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act over President Reagan's veto.
1989	F. W. de Klerk succeeds Botha, first as leader of the National party, then as president.
1990	De Klerk unbans the ANC, PAC, and SACP; releases Mandela and other political prisoners.
1990-91	1913 and 1936 Land Acts, Group Areas Act, Population Registration Act, and Separate Amenities Act repealed; political organizations unbanned; state of emergency revoked; amid widespread violence, delegates from 18 parties start formal negotiations.
1992	White voters support the negotiation process in a referendum. The ANC breaks off negotiations with the government after an Inkatha mob massacres 46.
1993	Negotiations resume; de Klerk, Mandela, and leaders of 18 other parties endorse an interim constitution.
1994	The ANC wins first nonracial election (April 27-30). Nelson Mandela is sworn in as president and forms Government of National Unity.
1996-1998	Truth and Reconciliation Committee hears former police, army, and government officials confess to torture, murder, and other civil rights abuses as a means of achieving an honest reappraisal of the past and setting the foundation for a new democratic South Africa.

Adapted from Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), xv–xx.

THE AFRIKANER GREAT TREK, 1836–1854
Map One

Adapted from Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), p. 89.

SOUTH AFRICA, 1806–1910
Map Two



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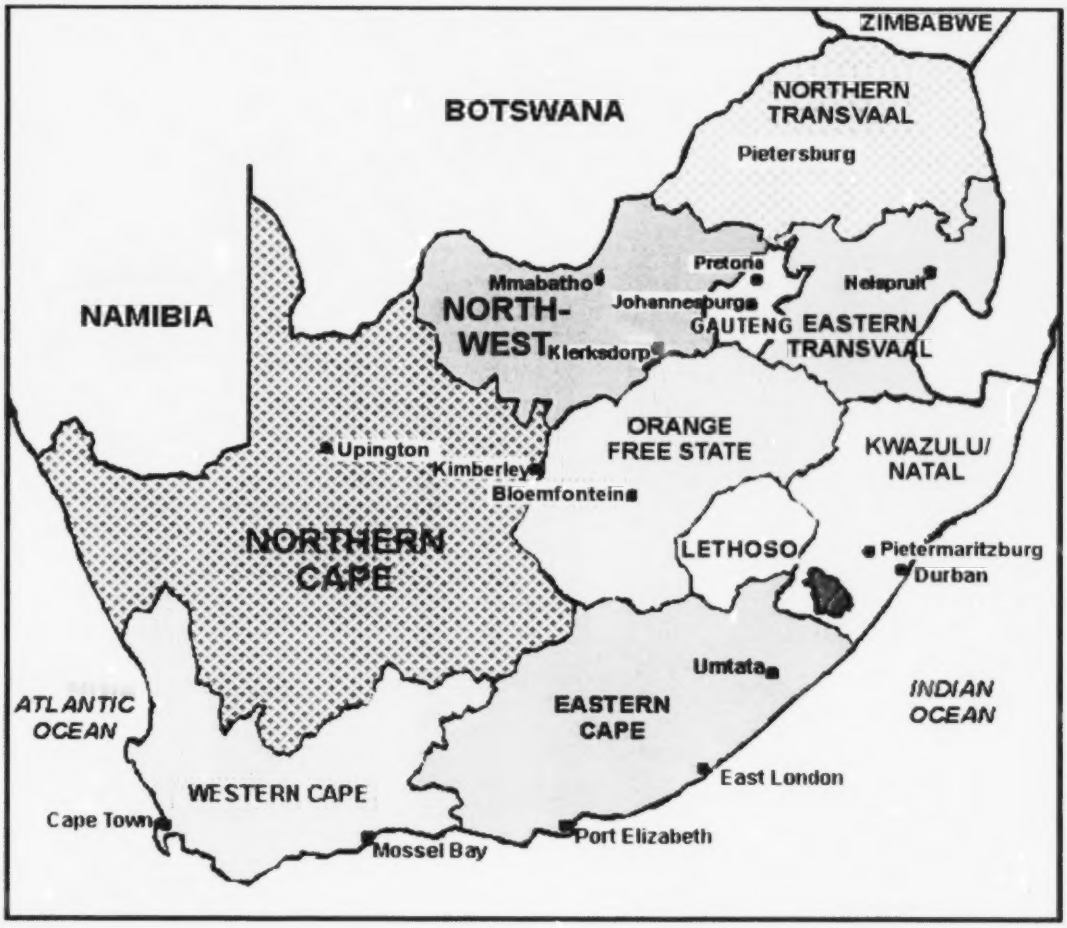
Source: *Historical Maps on File*

TODAY'S SOUTH AFRICA
Map Three



Source: African National Congress.

Lesson Two
The Development of Afrikaner Consciousness: Moral and Ethical Justifications for Apartheid

A. Objectives

1. To analyze the development of Afrikaner consciousness.
2. To analyze the ways in which symbols were used as a means to promote attitudes of nationalism and racism.
3. To evaluate the rationalizations used by the advocates of apartheid.

B. Lesson Activities

1. Read **Document B**, *A Trek Leader Explains Reasons for Leaving the Cape Colony.*

   Activities:

   a. Write a letter to Piet Retief to convince him and his fellow trekkers from leaving. Address each of the principal points made by Retief.

   b. Role-play a conversation between Piet Retief and the trekkers and the Zulu king Dingane regarding Retief's intent "to make known to the native tribes our intentions, and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them." Discuss the pros and cons of adopting a friendly approach versus a belligerent one.

2. Create a sketch for a public monument that would represent the people of South Africa today. Write a brief explanation of the symbolism used in your sketch. Use **Document C** to compare your conception of a monument with the illustrations of the Voortrekker Monument.

3. Read **Document D**, *The National Party Native Minister Explains Apartheid, 1950.*

   Discussion Questions for Document D

   a. Is Verwoerd's argument for "separate development convincing? Explain.

   b. What arguments does Verwoerd use to support apartheid policies?

   c. Are these arguments valid or can you detect any deeper, underlying motives?

   d. Why did blacks question the sincerity of Verwoerd's motives?

C. Teacher Background Material

In 1652, Dutch settlers (later known as "Boers" or "Afrikaners") established themselves at the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa. From the 1650s onward, the Boer settlements expanded to the east and north at the expense of the Khoisan. In the nineteenth century, British settlers arrived in South Africa, confronting the Afrikaners with new laws and fresh competition. This British migration helped bring about an increased sense of religious and cultural identity among the Boers who were Calvinist Protestants. They began to see themselves as a "chosen people" whose destiny it was to rule southern Africa.

The British and the Boers clashed over many things, particularly the British abolition of the slave trade and slavery. In 1835, in order to escape what they saw as the yoke of British rule, thousands of Afrikaners began a mass migration known as the **Great Trek** to the interior. In these inland territories they eventually established their own independent republics, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

In the 1880s, European powers with competing commercial, strategic, and imperial interests began a struggle for colonial territory in Africa. Cecil Rhodes, the British prime minister of Cape Colony, pursued an aggressive policy towards the Boer republics, attempting in 1895 to overthrow the Transvaal government (Jameson Raid). Rhodes' policies were taken up by the British colonial secretary Joseph Chamberlain, who helped bring about a war with the Boer republics in 1899 as a means of annexing them to the British Empire. The Afrikaners resisted fiercely in the South African (Boer) War. Despite overwhelming numerical superiority, it took the British until 1902 to finally defeat the Boers in this bitter and unpopular war.

From 1910 onward, with the establishment of the Union of South Africa, a tenuous relationship existed between the British elites and the more numerous Afrikaners. Over the next thirty-eight years, the government increasingly promoted Afrikaner interests. Finally, in 1948, Daniel F. Malan and Hendrik Verwoerd brought the Afrikaner Nationalist Party to power along with its doctrine of apartheid. During their years in power, Afrikaner nationalists transformed an informal program of segregation into a rigid system of apartheid, denying blacks the vote, the right to reside where they chose, and the right to a decent education. In addition, they crushed most forms of dissent. To justify these actions, Afrikaners promoted the mythology that they were a chosen people, destined by God to forge a new Zion in the wilderness. This ideology sustained the Afrikaners in the establishment and perpetuation of apartheid.

A TREK LEADER EXPLAINS REASONS FOR LEAVING THE CAPE COLONY
Primary Source

The proudly independent Boers clashed with the British over many things, particularly British insistence on the abolition of slavery. To escape the limitations of British rule, the Boers embarked on the mass migration known as the Great Trek. Several thousand European settlers from the eastern districts of the Cape Colony crossed the Orange River into Natal. The trek is part of the heritage of the Afrikaner nation and a pivotal event in South African history.

In the document that follows, Piet Retief, an important trek leader, explains the initial reasons for leaving the Cape Colony.

Numerous reports having been circulated throughout the colony, evidently with the intention of exciting in the minds of our countrymen of prejudice against those who have resolved to emigrate from a colony where they have experienced, for so many years past, a series of the most vexatious and severe losses; and, as we desire to stand high in the estimation of our brethren, and are anxious that they and the world at large should believe us incapable of severing that sacred tie which binds a Christian to his native soil, without the most sufficient reasons, we are induced to record the following summary of our motives for taking so important a step, and also our intentions respecting our proceedings towards the native tribes which we may meet with beyond the boundary:

1. We despair of saving the colony from those evils which threaten it by the turbulent and dishonest conduct of vagrants, who are allowed to infest the country in every part; nor do we see any prospect of peace or happiness for our children in any country thus distracted by internal commotions.

2. We complain of the severe losses which we have been forced to sustain by the emancipation of our slaves, and the vexatious laws which have been enacted respecting them.

3. We complain of the continual system of plunder which we have ever endured from the Caffres and other coloured classes, and particularly by the last invasion of the colony, which has desolated the frontier districts and ruined most of the inhabitants.

4. We complain of the unjustifiable odium which has been cast upon us by interested and dishonest persons, under the cloak of religion, whose testimony is believed in England, to the exclusion of all evidence in our

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favour; and we can foresee, as the result of this prejudice, nothing but the total ruin of the country.

5. We are resolved, wherever we go, that we will uphold the just principles of liberty; but, whilst we will take care that no one shall be held in a state of slavery, it is our determination to maintain such regulations as may suppress crime, and preserve proper relations between master and servant.

6. We solemnly declare that we quit this colony with a desire to lead a more quiet life than we have heretofore done. We will not molest any people, nor deprive them of the smallest property; but, if attacked, we shall consider ourselves fully justified in defending our persons and effects, to the utmost of our ability, against every enemy.

7. We make known, that when we shall have framed a code of laws for our future guidance, copies shall be forwarded to the colony for general information; but we take this opportunity of stating, that it is our firm resolve to make provision for the summary punishment of any traitors who may be found amongst us.

8. We propose, in the course of our journey, and on arriving at the country in which we shall permanently reside, to make known to the native tribes our intentions, and our desire to live in peace and friendly intercourse with them.

9. We quit this colony under the full assurance that the English Government has nothing more to require of us, and will allow us to govern ourselves without its interference in future.

10. We are now quitting the fruitful land of our birth, in which we have suffered enormous losses and continual vexation, and are entering a wild and dangerous territory; but we go with a firm reliance on an allseeing, just, and merciful Being, whom it will be our endeavour to fear and humbly to obey.

—By authority of the farmers who have quitted the Colony,
[Signed] P. RETIEF.

Source: *Parr Papers*, Cape of Good Hope: Return to an address of the House of Commons, May 7, 1838, 0.98, p. 5.

From G. W. Eybers, *Select Constitutional Documents* 1918, pp. 144-145 included in John A. Williams, *From the South African Past: Narratives, Documents, and Debates* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997), 77-78.

THE VOORTREKKER MONUMENT
Pretoria, South Africa

This large building, constructed in the 1930s, commemorates the Great Trek of European settlers that began in 1835.

Photo by James O. Gump

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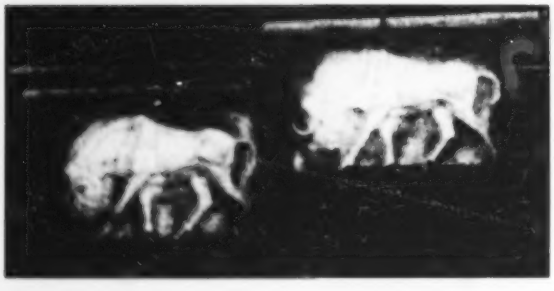
A NATION OF HEROES

"The (Voortrekker) Monument is as much part of the story of Afrikaners' rise as the early events it records. When the foundation stone was laid in 1938 to mark the centenary of the original trek, one hundred thousand people were at the ceremony. As part of the celebrations, a group of idealistic Afrikaners had set off by ox-wagon earlier in the year to retrace the route their ancestors had followed, all the way from the Cape to the site of the memorial in Pretoria, nearly a thousand miles to the north. The idea caught on. Thousands joined in, traveling from all over South Africa, by ox-wagon and horseback, by bicycle and car. Afrikaners came together in an emotional pilgrimage to pay tribute to their ancestors. It was the biggest gathering ever known in South Africa. The tribe was united as never before."

Source: David Harrison, *The White Tribe of Africa: South Africa In Perspective* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 9.

The monument sits on this hill, overlooking Pretoria.



Detail of oxen on the monument

Photos by James O. Gump

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THE NATIONAL PARTY NATIVE MINISTER EXPLAINS APARTHEID

Hendrik F. Verwoerd was a major theorist of apartheid and was the first Native minister and third prime minister (1958-1966). According to historian Leonard Thompson, "at the heart of the apartheid system were four ideas. First, the population of South Africa comprised four 'racial groups'—White, Coloured (mixed), Indian, and African—each with its own distinct culture. Second, Whites, as the civilized race, were entitled to absolute control over the state. Third, white interests should prevail over black interests; the state was not obliged to provide equal facilities for the subordinate races. Fourth, the white racial group formed a single nation . . . while Africans belonged to several (eventually ten) distinct nations or potential nations—a formula that made the white nation the largest in the country."[1] Verwoerd believed—to the point of claiming divine inspiration—the justice of his policies. He survived one assassination attempt but then was fatally stabbed by a parliamentary messenger in 1966.

. . . in its belief on the basis of an inherent superiority, or greater knowledge, or whatever it may be, the European must remain master and leader. The section is, therefore also a protagonist of separate residential areas, and of what it calls separation.

My point is this that, if mixed development is to be the policy of the future in South Africa, it will lead to the most terrific clash of interests imaginable. The endeavours and desires of the Bantu and the endeavours and objectives of all Europeans will be antagonistic. Such a clash can only bring unhappiness and misery to both. Bantu and European must, therefore, consider in good time how this misery can be averted from themselves and from their descendants. They must find a plan to provide the two population groups with opportunities for full development of their respective powers and ambitions without coming into conflict.

The only possible way out is the second alternative, namely, that both adopt a development divorced from each other. That is all that the word apartheid means. Any word can be poisoned by attaching a false meaning to it. That has happened to this word. The Bantu have been made to

[1] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, rev. ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 190.

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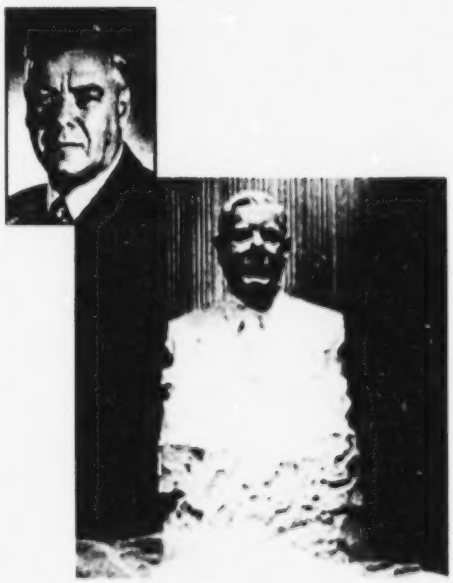
believe that it means oppression, or even that the native territories are to be taken from them. In reality, however, exactly the opposite is intended with the policy of apartheid. To avoid the above mentioned unpleasant and dangerous future for both sections of the population, the present Government adopts the attitude that it concedes and wishes to give to others precisely what it demands for itself. It believes in the supremacy of the European in his sphere, but then, it also believes equally in the supremacy of the Bantu in his own sphere.

Source: A.N. Pelzer, ed., *Verwoerd Speaks: Speeches, 1948--1966* (Johannesburg: APB Publishers, 1966), 23-29.



Bust of Hendrik Verwoerd
South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology

Lesson Three
The Rise of Black African Militancy Against Apartheid, The 1950s and 1960s

A. Objectives

1. To examine the struggle against apartheid by reading documents and by identifying the struggle's primary goals, methods of achievement, and costs to the participants involved.

2. To identify the principal protagonists in this struggle and their importance to the eventual success of the struggle.

3. To identify key incidents in the struggle against apartheid and analyze the significance of these events.

B. Lesson Activities

1. Read **Document E,** *The Freedom Charter.*

   Activity:

   a. Compare the excerpt from *The Freedom Charter* with documents such as the United States' *Declaration of Independence*, the French *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, and the United Nations' *International Bill of Human Rights.*

   Discussion Questions:

   b. How can a document help create the kind of country people envision?

   c. What are some of the similarities between *The Freedom Charter* and other documents of this kind?

   d. What elements of *The Freedom Charter* do you think the authorities of the apartheid government found most objectionable?

2. Handout **Document F**, *The Sharpeville Massacre* as well as **Document G**, the Sharpeville photos.

   Activity:

   1. Taking the point-of-view of a surviving protester, write a first-person account of the Sharpeville massacre. Your story will be smuggled out of South Africa and used with the news account and picture as part of a feature story in the *New York Times.*

3. Read **Document H**, *Umkhonto We Sizwe.*

Discussion Questions:

a. What reasons are given for launching an armed struggle?

b. What was the purpose of the flyer? Do you think the authors did a good job of getting their points across?

Activity:

c. Have a debate about whether the established policy of the ANC—the use of non-violence —should be continued alone and given more time to have an effect or whether the methods of Umkhonto We Sizwe -- sabotage and retaliatory attacks -- should be embraced. Encourage students to include evidence from all the documents.

4. Read **Document I**, *Mandela Explains the ANC Struggle.*

Discussion Questions:

a. What was the relationship between the ANC and Umkhonto?

b. What are Mandela's views regarding communism and democracy? How might accusations that he was a communist have hurt him and the ANC in the public's eye?

c. Discuss with students the similar goals held by South African freedom fighters and the civil rights activists in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s. These should include voting rights, education, employment, living conditions, interracial marriages and interaction, freedom of movement, speech, etc.

d. Why were the non-violent tactics employed by Martin Luther King Jr. and others in the American civil rights movement successful, but in South Africa these same tactics didn't resolve the major issues?

C. Teacher Background Materials

In the 1950s the leadership of the struggle for freedom shifted toward the more militant ANC Youth League. Members of the League included Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, and Oliver Tambo. This group, which was formed in the 1940s, was instrumental in organizing civil disobedience campaigns in the 1950s. The Freedom Charter of 1955 elucidated the goals of the ANC and made explicit that the struggle was not against whites themselves but against the racist system of white domination. In 1959,

however, divisions within the League resulted in the formation of a splinter group, the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC). Robert Sobukwe was its leader.

One of the PACs first goals was to organize protests against the "pass laws." During the apartheid era these laws placed severe limitations on Africans. While the origin of pass laws goes back to early colonial times, their intent during the apartheid era was to regulate the flow of Africans into cities. Africans were allowed to come into the cities during the day carrying their documents or passes, but they had to return to their homes at night or face arrest and prosecution. The pass laws brought increasing hardship to black South African workers and their families, as blacks had to commute to work from segregated townships and designated "Homelands" long distances away. On March 21, 1960, the PAC began its campaign against the pass laws by demonstrating in front of police stations, thereby inviting arrest as part of a civil disobedience campaign. In Sharpeville, the police opened fire on demonstrators, killing 67 and wounding over a hundred. In an all out war, Verwoerd's regime arrested the black African leadership of both the ANC and PAC and forced others into exile. Mandela went underground, visiting various nations, receiving military training, and helping to establish the ANCs military wing, Umkonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). In 1963 Mandela was captured in his hideout in South Africa and arrested. At the Rivonia trial in 1964, he along with Sisulu, Sobukwe, and others, was tried for treason and sentenced to life imprisonment.

Oliver Tambo
African National Congress

THE FREEDOM CHARTER OF 1955, EXCERPT
Primary Source

The following excerpt indicates the scope of the Freedom Charter and its broad appeal to many South Africans. All races were represented at the "Congress of the People," which met in June 1955. It makes clear that the struggle was not directed against whites but against the oppressive system of apartheid. Its broad goals remained those of the ANC throughout the rest of the apartheid era.

We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

- that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;
- that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;
- that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities.
- that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex, or belief.

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together —equals, countrymen, and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

Source: Francis Meli, *South Africa Belongs To Us: A History of the ANC* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988), p. 210.

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THE SHARPEVILLE MASSACRE

The Sharpeville massacre drew international attention to the South African government's use of brutality in enforcing aparthedi rule. As this front page article from the *New York Times* indicates, journalists from several international news organizations converged on South Africa and reported on the killings and unrest. While international opposition to apartheid became increasingly vocal during the 1960s and 1970s, it nonetheless remained weak in substance. Powerful interests in the United States and Europe, fearful of both communism and their often sizeable investments, helped to maintain the status quo in south Africa.

50 KILLED IN SOUTH AFRICA AS POLICE FIRE ON RIOTERS

special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa, March 21 — The police opened fire today on thousands of Africans besieging a police station at Sharpeville, thirty miles south of Johannesburg. Officials reported twenty-five Africans had been wounded and fifty wounded. Unofficial reports indicated about fifty had been killed.

The Africans were demonstrating against South Africa's laws requiring Africans to carry passes at all times. The police arrest any African found without his pass.

The demonstration followed a call by the Pan-Africanist Congress for all Africans to leave their pass at home and go to the police stations to surrender to the police for not carrying them. . .

The Sharpeville riots occurred in two stages. In the morning the police opened fire on a crowd of about 2,000, and killed one man and wounded two others. The mob, which had been stoning the police, refused to disperse when ordered and police followed up the warning with shots.

A constable said the crowd "must have included every African in the township. . ."

The police opened fire with submachine guns, mowing down the front ranks.

"People fell like ninepins," said an African on the fringe of the crowd. "Wounded women were screaming and shouting and I could see figures trying to raise themselves or pull themselves off the ground."

Source: *New York Times*, March 22, 1960, p. 1.

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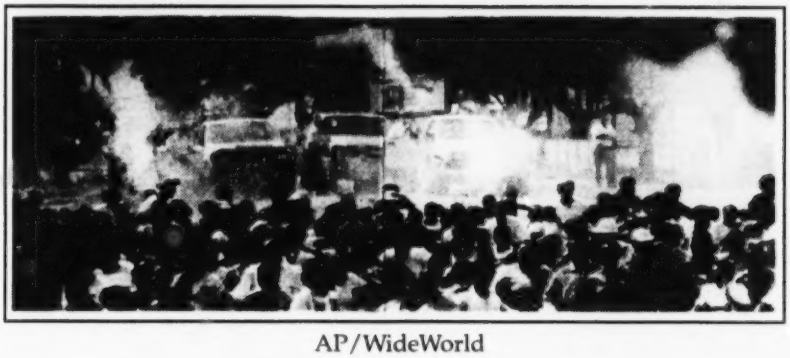
SHARPEVILLE

Sharpeville in 1960 just before the march.

Museum Afrika

Police in Sharpeville, South Africa spray tear gas on fleeing protesters to disperse township residents who stormed the police station after police blocked a trade union march.



AP/WideWorld

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE
(Spear Of The Nation)
Flyer Appearing Dec. 16, 1961

Units of Umkhonto We Sizwe today carried out planned attacks against Government installations, particularly those connected with the policy of apartheid and race discrimination.

Umkhonto We Sizwe is a new, independent body, formed by Mricans. It includes in its ranks South Africans of all races. It is not connected in any way with a so-called "Committee for National Uberation" whose existence has been announced in the press. Umkonto We Sizwe will carry on the struggle for freedom and democracy by new methods, which are necessary to complement the actions of the established national liberation organizations. Umkonto We Sizwe fully supports the national liberation movement, and our members, jointly and individually, place themselves under the overall political guidance of that movement.

It is, however, well known that the main national liberation organizations in this country have consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted themselves peaceably at all times, regardless of Government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all Government-inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of evil war. But the people's patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.

The Government has interpreted the peacefulness of the movement as weakness; the people's non-violent policies have been taken as a green light for Government violence. Refusal to resort to force has been interpreted by the Government as an invitation to use armed force against the people without any fear of reprisals. The methods of Umkonto We Sizwe mark a break with that past.

We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the people of this country. The Government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with nonviolent resistance only! The choice is not ours; it has been made by the Nationalist Government which has rejected every peaceable demand by the people for rights and freedom and answered every such demand with force and yet more force! Twice in the past 18 months, virtual martial law has been imposed in order to beat down peaceful non-violent strike action of the people in support of their rights. It is now preparing its forces, enlarging and rearming its armed forces and drawing white civilian population into commandos and pistol dubs for full-scale military actions

against the people. The Nationalist Government has chosen the course of force and massacre, now, deliberately, as it did at Sharpeville.

Umkhonto We Sizwe will be at the front line of the people's defence. It will be the fighting arm of the people against the Government and its policies of race oppression. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation! Let the Government, its supporters who put it into power, and those whose passive toleration of reaction keeps it in power, take note of where the Nationalist Government is leading the country!

We of Umkhonto We Sizwe have always sought-as the liberation movement has sought--to achieve liberation, without bloodshed and civil dash. We do so still. We hope-even at this hour-that our first actions the Nationalist policy is leading. We hope that we will bring the Government and its supporters to their senses before it is too late, so that both Government and its policies can be changed before matters reach the desperate stage of civil war. We believe our actions to be a blow against the Nationalist preparations for civil war and military rule.

In these actions, we are working in the best interests of all people of this country-black, brown and white-whose future happiness and well-being cannot be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of white supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality for all the people of this country.

We appeal for the support and encouragement of all those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people of this country.

Afrika Mayibuye!

Issued by command of *Umkhonto We Sizwe.*

Source: Text of leaflet reprinted by African National Congress, gopher://gopher.anc.org.za:70/00/anc/history/manifest.mk

Logo of *Umkhonto We Sizwe*
African National Congress

NELSON MANDELA EXPLAINS THE ANC STRUGGLE, 1964

A police raid on the ANC hideout on Rivonia Farm in 1963 uncovered the plans of Umkhonto We Sizwe, implicating Mandela, Sisulu, and others. The ensuing trial, which has become known as the Rivonia trial, marked the end of the initial phase of violent resistance to apartheid. Mandela's trial statement delineates the goals and ideals which he still followed even after twenty-six years of further imprisonment.

I am the First Accused.

I hold a Bachelor's Degree in Arts and practiced as an attorney in Johannesburg for a number of years in partnership with Oliver Tambo. I am a convicted prisoner serving five years for leaving the country without a permit and for inciting people to go on strike at the end of May, 1961.

At the outset, I want to say that the suggestion made by the State in its opening that the struggle in South Africa is under the influence of foreigners or communists is wholly incorrect. I have done whatever I did, both as an individual and as a leader of my people, because of my experience in South Africa and my own proudly-felt African background, and not because of what any outsider might have said.

In my youth in the Transkei I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of the old days. Amongst the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland. The names of Dingane and Bambata, Hintsa and Makana, Squngthi and Dalasile, Moshoeshoe and Sekukhuni, were praised as the glory of the entire African nation. I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggle. This is what has motivated me in all that I have done in relation to the charges made against me in this case.

Having said this, I must deal immediately and at some length, with the question of violence. Some of the things so far told to the Court are true and some are untrue. I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as the result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation and oppression of my people by the Whites.

I admit immediately that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto We Sizwe, and that I played a prominent role in its affairs until I was arrested in August, 1962.

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In the statement which I am about to make I shall correct certain false impressions which have been created by State witnesses. Amongst other things, I will demonstrate that certain of the acts referred to in the evidence were not and could not have been committed by Umkhonto. I will also deal with the relationship between the African National Congress and Umkhonto, and with the part which I personally have played in the affairs of both organizations. I shall deal also with the part played by the Communist Party. In order to explain these matters properly I will have to explain what Umkhonto set out to achieve; what methods it prescribed for the achievement of these objects, and why these methods were chosen. I will also have to explain how I became involved in the activities of these organizations.

I deny that Umkhonto was responsible for a number of acts which clearly fell outside the policy of the organization, and which have been charged in the Indictment against us. I do not know what justification there was for these acts, but to demonstrate that they could not have been authorised by Umkhonto, I want to refer briefly to the roots and policy of the organization.

I have already mentioned that I was one of the persons who helped to form Umkhonto. I, and the others who started the organization, did so for two reasons. Firstly, we believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalize and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not produced even by war. Secondly, we felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of White supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the Government. We chose to defy the law. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and when the government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence.

But the violence which we chose to adopt was not terrorism. We who formed Umkhonto were all members of the African National Congress, and had behind us the traditions of non-violence and negotiation as a means of solving political disputes. We believe that South Africa belonged to all the people who lived in it, and not to one group, be it Black or White. We did not want an inter-racial war, and tried to avoid it to the last minute. If the Court is in doubt about this, it will be seen that the whole history of our organization bears out what I have said, and what I will subsequently say, when I describe the tactics which Umkhonto decided to adopt. I want, therefore, to say something about the African National Congress.

The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people which had been seriously curtailed by the South Africa Act, and which were then being threatened by the Native Land Act. For thirty-seven years—that is until 1949—it adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle. It put forward demands and resolutions; it sent delegations to the Government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion and that Africans could advance gradually to full political rights. But White Governments remained unmoved, and the rights of Africans became less instead of becoming greater. In the words of my leader, Chief Luthuli, who became President of the A.N.C. in 1952, and who was later awarded the Nobel Peace Prize:

> "who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all."

Even after 1949, the A.N.C. remained determined to avoid violence. At this time, however, there was a change from the strictly constitutional means of protest which had been employed in the past. The change was embodied in a decision, which was taken to protest against apartheid legislation by peaceful, but unlawful, demonstrations against certain laws. Pursuant to this policy the A.N.C. launched the Defiance Campaign, in which I was placed in charge of volunteers. This campaign was based on the principles of passive resistance. More than 8,500 people defied apartheid laws and went to gaol. Yet there was not a single instance of violence in the course of this campaign on the part of any defier. I, and nineteen colleagues were convicted for the role we played in organizing the campaign, but our sentences were suspended mainly because the Judge found that discipline and nonviolence had been stressed throughout. This was the time when the volunteer section of the A.N.C. was established, and the word 'Amadelakufa' was first used: this was the time when the volunteers were asked to take a pledge to uphold certain principles. Evidence dealing with volunteers and their pledges has been introduced into this case, but completely out of context. The volunteers were not, and are not, the soldiers of a Black Army pledged to fight a civil war against the Whites. They were, and are, the dedicated workers who are prepared to lead campaigns initiated by the A.N.C. to distribute leaflets; to organize strikes, or do whatever the particular campaign required. They are called volunteers because they volunteer to face the penalties of imprisonment and whipping which are now prescribed by the legislature for such acts.

During the Defiance Campaign, the Public Safety Act and the Criminal Law Amendment Act were passed. These Statutes provided harsher penalties for offences committed by way of protests against laws. Despite this, the protests continued and the A.N.C. adhered to its policy of non- violence. In 1956, one

hundred and fifty-six leading members of the Congress Alliance, including myself, were arrested on a charge of High Treason and charged under the Suppression of Communism Act. The non-violent policy of the A.N.C. was put into issue by the State, but when the Court gave judgement some five years later, it found that the A.N.C. did not have a policy of violence. We were acquitted on all counts, which included a count that the A.N.C. sought to set up a Communist State in place of the existing regime. The Government has always sought to label all its opponents as communists. This allegation has been repeated in the present case, but as I will show, the A.N.C. is not, and never has been, a communist organization.

In 1960, there was the shooting at Sharpeville, which resulted in the proclamation of a State of Emergency and the declaration of the A.N.C. as an unlawful organization. My colleagues and I, after careful consideration, decided that we would not obey this decree. The African people were not part of the Government and did not make the laws by which they were governed. We believed in the words of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that the will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of the Government, and for us to accept the banning was equivalent to accepting the silencing of the Africans for all time. The A.N.C. refused to dissolve, but instead went underground. We believed it was our duty to preserve this organization which had been built up with almost fifty years of unremitting toil. I have no doubt that no self-respecting White political organization would disband itself if declared illegal by a Government in which it had no say.

In 1960 the Government held a Referendum which led to the establishment of the Republic. Africans, who constituted approximately 70% of the population of South Africa, were not entitled to vote, and were not even consulted about the proposed constitutional change. All of us were apprehensive of our future under the proposed White Republic, and a resolution was taken to hold an All-In African Conference to call for a National Convention, and to organize mass demonstrations on the eve of the unwanted Republic, if the Government failed to call the Convention. The Conference was attended by Africans of various political persuasions. I was the Secretary of the Conference and undertook to be responsible for organizing the national stay-an home which was subsequently called to coincide with the declaration of the Republic. As all strikes by Africans are illegal, the person organizing such a strike must avoid arrest. I was chosen to be this person, and consequently I had to leave my home and family and my practice and go into hiding to avoid arrest.

The stay-at-home, in accordance with A.N.C. policy, was to be a peaceful demonstration. Careful instructions were given to organizers and members to avoid any recourse to violence. The Government's answer was to introduce new and harsher laws, to mobilize its armed forces, and to send saracens [armored vehicles], armed vehicles and soldiers into the townships in a massive show of

force designed to intimidate the people. This was an indication that the Government had decided to rule by force alone, and this decision was a milestone on the road to Umkhonto. . . .

At the beginning of June, 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some colleagues, came to the conclusion that as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence at a time when the Government met our peaceful demands with force.

This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto We Sizwe. We did so not because we desired such a course, but solely because the Government had left us with no choice. . . .

I turn now to my own position. I have denied that I am a Communist, and I think that in the circumstances I am obliged to state exactly what my political beliefs are.

I have always regarded myself, in the first place, as an African patriot. After all, I was born in Umtata, forty-six years ago. My guardian was my cousin, who was the acting paramount chief of Tembuland, and I am related both to the present paramount chief of Tembuland, Sabata Dalinyebo, and to Kalzer Matanzima, the Chief Minister of the Transkei.

Today I am attracted to the idea of a classless society, an attraction which springs in part from Marxist reading and, in part, from my admiration of the structure and organization of early African societies in this country. The land, then the main means of production, belonged to the tribe. There were no rich or poor and there was no exploitation.

It is true, as I have already stated, that I have been influenced by Marxist thought. But this is also true of many of the leaders of the new independent States. Such widely different persons as Gandhi, Nehru, Nkrumah and Nasser all acknowledge this fact. We all accept the need for some form of Socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of this world and to overcome their legacy of extreme poverty. But this does not mean we are Marxists.

Indeed, for my own part, I believe that it is open to debate whether the Communist Party has any specific role to play at this particular stage of our political struggle. The basic task at the present moment is the removal of race discrimination and the attainment of democratic rights on the basis of the Freedom Charter. Insofar as that Party furthers this task, I welcome its assistance. I

realize that it is one of the means by which people of all races can be drawn into our struggle.

From my reading of Marxist literature and from conversations with Marxists, I have gained the impression that Communists regard the parliamentary system of the West as undemocratic and reactionary. But, on the contrary, I am an admirer of such a system.

The Magna Charta, the Petition of Rights and the Bill of Rights, are documents which are held in veneration by democrats throughout the world.

I have great respect for British political institutions, and for the country's system of justice. I regard the British Parliament as the most democratic institution in the world, and the independence and impartiality of its judiciary never fail to arouse my admiration.

The American Congress, that country's doctrine of separation of powers, as well as the independence of its judiciary, arouse in me similar sentiments.

I have been influenced in my thinking by both West and East. All this has led me to feel that in my search for a political formula, I should be absolutely impartial and objective. I should tie myself to no particular system of society other than of socialism. I must leave myself free to borrow the best from the West and from the East. . . .

The Government often answers its critics by saying that Africans in South Africa are economically better off than the inhabitants of the other countries in Africa. I do not know whether this statement is true and doubt whether any comparison can be made without having regard to the cost of living index in such countries. But even if it is true, as far as the African people are concerned it is irrelevant. Our complaint is not that we are poor in comparison with people in other countries, but that we are poor by comparison with the White people in our own country, and that we are prevented by legislation from altering this imbalance.

The lack of human dignity experienced by Africans is the direct result of the policy of White supremacy. White supremacy implies Black inferiority. Legislation designed to preserve White supremacy entrenches this notion. Menial tasks in South Africa are invariably performed by Africans. When anything has to be carried or cleaned the White man will look around for an African to do it for him, whether the African is employed by him or not. Because of this sort of attitude, Whites tend to regard Africans as a separate breed. They do not look upon them as people with families of their own; they do not realise that they have emotions—that they fall in love like White people do; that they want to be with their wives and children like White people want to be with theirs; that

they want to earn enough money to support their families properly, to feed and clothe them and send them to school. And what "house-boy" or "garden-boy" or labourer can ever hope to do this?

Pass Laws, which to the Africans are among the most hated bits of legislation in South Africa, render any African liable to police surveillance at any time. I doubt whether there is a single African male in South Africa who has not at some stage had a brush with the police over his pass. Hundreds and thousands of Africans are thrown into gaol every year under pass laws. Even worse than this is the fact that pass laws keep husband and wife apart and lead to the breakdown of family life.

Poverty and the breakdown of family life have secondary effects. Children wander about the streets of the Townships because they have no schools to go to, or no money to enable them to go to school, or no parents at home to see that they go to school, because both parents (if there be two) have to work to keep the family alive. This leads to a breakdown in moral standards, to an alarming rise in illegitimacy and to growing violence which erupts, not only politically, but everywhere. There is not a day that goes by without somebody being stabbed or assaulted. And violence is carried out of the townships in the White living areas. People are afraid to walk the streets after dark. Housebreakings and robberies are increasing, despite the fact that the death penalty can now be imposed for such offences. Death sentences cannot cure the festering sore.

Africans want to be paid a living wage. Africans want to perform work which they are capable of doing, and not work which the Government declares them to be capable of. Africans want to be allowed to live where they obtain work, and not be endorsed out of an area because they were not born there. Africans want to be allowed to own land in places where they work, and not to be obliged to live in rented houses which they can never call their own. Africans want to be part of the general population, and not confined to living in their own ghettos. African men want to have their wives and children to live with them where they work, and not be forced into an unnatural existence in men's hostels. African women want to be with their men folk and not be left permanently widowed in the reserves. Africans want to be allowed out after 11 o'clock at night and not to be confined to their rooms like little children. Africans want to be allowed to travel in their own country and to seek work where they want to and not where the Labour Bureau tells them to. Africans want a just share in the whole of South Africa; they want security and a stake in society.

Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the Whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes the White man fear democracy.

But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all. It is not true that the enfranchisement of all will result in racial domination. Political division, based on colour, is entirely artificial and, when it disappears, so will the domination of one colour group by another. The A.N.C. has spent half a century fighting against racialism. When it triumphs it will not change that policy.

This then is what the A.N.C. is fighting. Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live.

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against White domination, and I have fought against Black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.

Source: Nelson Mandela, "I am Prepared to Die" Pretoria Supreme Court, 20 April 1964. Reprinted by the African National Congress.
http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mandela/1960s/rivonia.html

Nelson Mandela behind bars.
In *Long Walk to Freedom*, Reprinted by Online Books

Lesson Four
A New Generation:
Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement

A. Objectives

1. To examine the struggle against apartheid, identifying its primary goals, methods of achievement, and costs to the participants involved in this struggle.

2. To identify the principal protagonists in this struggle, especially Biko, and their importance to its eventual success.

3. To evaluate the philosophy of African leaders in the struggle against apartheid.

B. Lesson Activities

1. Read **Document J**, *The Ideology of Black Consciousness.*

Discussion Questions

a. According to Biko, why shouldn't black people be surprised at some of the atrocities committed by the government?

b. Why, according to Biko, is logic "a strange word to these people" (the Afrikaner state)?

c. In what ways do black people have to struggle for survival in South Africa in the 1970s?

d. Biko agrees with the Caribbean poet Aime Cesaire in saying that "Hitler is not dead." What does he mean by this? Do you agree? Explain.

e. Biko also uses a quote from the philosopher Karl Jaspers stating that: "If I do not do whatever I can to prevent them (crimes), I am an accomplice in them." How does this relate to life in South Africa? Does it relate to your own life? Explain.

f. Why is Biko pessimistic about the possibility of blacks and whites living together in a peaceful, nonracial South Africa of the future?

Activity

g. Show portions of the film *Cry Freedom*, which is based on the life story of Steve Biko. Discuss with students Biko's options as a black in South Africa and why they think he chose the path he followed.

C. Teacher Background Materials

With the core of the ANC leadership sentenced to life imprisonment at the Rivonia Trial in 1964, the struggle against apartheid went through a brief period of decline. This trend reversed itself in the late 1960s with the emergence of the black consciousness movement among African students. Steve Biko (1946–1977) was the most prominent leader of this movement, which advocated self-help and racial pride, rather than confrontation with the government. He became involved in student activism while a medical student at the University of Natal. In 1968 he formed the South African Students' Organization (SASO). In 1970 he was elected Chairman of SASO Publications. He began writing articles for the monthly SASO Newsletter in a column he called "I Write What I Like," penned under the name Frank Talk. According to Biko, the ideology of black consciousness "seeks to demonstrate the lie that black is an aberration from the 'normal' which is white . . . It seeks to infuse the black community with a newfound pride in themselves, their efforts, their value systems, their culture, their religion and their outlook to life."[2]

Black consciousness was embraced by black youth in urban schools. In June 1976, thousands of schoolchildren in Soweto demonstrated against the government's insistence that half of their subjects be taught in Afrikaans. The South African government under Prime Minister John Vorster brutally crushed this demonstration as well as uprisings that followed in other townships. While the Vorster government appeared to have consolidated its power, thousands of young blacks left the country to join a burgeoning guerrilla movement in Tanzania and Angola. Steve Biko was arrested in 1977 and died in police custody. With his murder, however, the system of apartheid began its slow unraveling.

[2] Thompson, *History of South Africa* , p. 212.

THE IDEOLOGY OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS, 1971
Primary Source

It would seem that the greatest waste of time in South Africa is to try and find logic in why the white government does certain things. If anything else, the constant inroads into the freedom of the black people illustrates a complete contempt for this section of the community.

My premise has always been that black people should not at any one stage be surprised at some of the atrocities committed by the government. This to me follows logically after their initial assumption that they, being a settler minority, can have the right to be supreme masters. If they could be cruel enough to cow the natives down with brutal force and install themselves as perpetual rulers in a foreign land, then anything else they do to the same black people becomes logical in terms of the initial cruelty. To expect justice from them at any stage is to be naive. They almost have a duty to themselves and to their "electorate" to show that they still have the upper hand over the black people. There is only one way of showing that upper hand—by ruthlessly breaking down the back of resistance amongst the blacks, however petty that resistance is.

One must look at the huge security force that South Africa has in order to realize this. These men must always report something to their masters in order to justify their employment. It is not enough to report that "I have been to Pondoland and the natives are behaving well and are peaceful and content."

This is not satisfactory, for the perpetrators of evil are aware of the cruelty of their system and hence do not expect the natives to be satisfied. So the security boys are sent back to Pondoland to find out who the spokesman is who claims that the people are satisfied and to beat him until he admits that he is not satisfied. At that point he is either banned or brought forward to be tried under one of the many Acts. The absolutely infantile evidence upon which the State builds up its cases in some of the trials does suggest to me that they are quite capable of arresting a group of boys playing hide and seek and charging them with high treason.

This is the background against which one must see the many political trials that are held in this country. To them it looks as if something would be dangerously wrong if no major political trial was held for a period of one year. It looks as if someone will be accused by his superior for not doing his work. The strangest thing is that people are hauled in for almost nothing to be tried under the most vicious of Acts—like the Terrorism Act.

It is also against this background that one must view the recent banning and house arrest imposed on Mr. Mewa Ramgobin. No amount of persuasion by anyone can convince me that Ramgobin had something sinister up his sleeve. To all those who know him, Mewa was the last man to be considered a serious threat to anyone—let alone a

powerful State with an army of perhaps 10,000 security men and informers. But then, as we said, logic is a strange word to these people.

Aime Cesaire [the French Caribbean poet, a founder of the Negritude literary movement] once said: "When I turn on my radio, when I hear that Negroes have been Lynched in America, I say that we have been lied to: Hitler is not dead: When I turn on my radio and hear that in Africa, forced labour has been inaugurated and legislated, I say that we have certainly been lied to: Hitler is not dead."

Perhaps one need add only the following in order to make the picture complete:

"When I turn on my radio, when I hear that someone in the Pondoland forest was beaten and tortured, I say that we have been lied to: Hitler is not dead, when I turn on my radio, when I hear that someone in jail slipped off a piece of soap, fell and died I say that we have been lied to: Hitler is not dead, he is likely to be found in Pretoria."

To look for instances of cruelty directed at those who fall into disfavour with the security police is perhaps to look too far. One need not try to establish the truth of the claim that black people in South Africa have to struggle for survival. It presents itself in ever so many facets of our lives. Township life alone makes it a miracle for anyone to live up to adulthood. There we see a situation of absolute want in which black will kill black to be able to survive. This is the basis of the vandalism, murder, rape and plunder that goes on while the real sources of the evil—white society—are suntanning on exclusive beaches or relaxing in their bourgeois homes.

While those amongst blacks who do bother to open their mouths in feeble protest against what is going on are periodically intimidated with security visits and occasional banning orders and house arrests, the rest of the black community lives in absolute fear of the police. No average black man can ever at any moment be absolutely sure that he is not breaking a law. There are so many laws governing the lives and behaviour of black people that sometimes one feels that the police only need to page at random through a statute book to be able to get a law under which to charge a victim.

The philosophy behind police action in this country seems to be "harass them! harass them!" And one needs to add that they interpret the word in a very extravagant sense. Thus even young traffic policemen, people generally known for their grace, occasionally find it proper to slap adult black people. It sometimes looks obvious here that the great plan is to keep the black people thoroughly intimidated and to perpetuate the "super-race" image of the white man, if not intellectually, at least in terms of force. White people, working through their vanguard—the South African Police—have come to realise the truth of that golden maxim—if you cannot make a man respect you, then make him fear you.

Clearly black people cannot respect white people, at least not in this country. There is such an obvious aura of immorality and naked cruelty in all that is done in the name of

white people that no black man, no matter how intimidated, can ever be made to respect white society. However, in spite of their obvious contempt for the values cherished by whites and the prices at which white comfort and security is purchased, blacks seem to me to have been successfully cowed down by the type of brutality that emanates from this section of the community.

It is this fear that erodes the soul of black people in South Africa—a fear obviously built up deliberately by the system through a myriad of civil agents, be they post office attendants, police, CID officials, army men in uniform, security police or even the occasional trigger-happy white farmer or store owner. It is a fear so basic in the considered actions of black people as to make it impossible for them to behave like people—let alone free people. From the attitude of a servant to his employer, to that of a black man being served by a white attendant at a shop, one sees this fear clearly showing through. How can people be prepared to put up resistance against their overall oppression if in their individual situations, they cannot insist on the observance of their manhood? This is a question that often occurs to overseas visitors who are perceptive enough to realise that all is not well in the land of sunshine and milk.

Yet this is a dangerous type of fear, for it only goes skin deep. It hides underneath it an immeasurable rage that often threatens to erupt. Beneath it, lies naked hatred for a group that deserves absolutely no respect. Unlike in the rest of the French or Spanish former colonies where chances of assimilation made it not impossible for blacks to aspire towards being white, in South Africa whiteness has always been associated with police brutality and intimidation, early morning pass raids, general harassment in and out of townships and hence no black really aspires to being white. The claim by whites of monopoly on comfort and security has always been so exclusive that blacks see whites as the major obstacle in their progress towards peace, prosperity and a sane society. Through its association with all these negative aspects, whiteness has thus been soiled beyond recognition. At best therefore blacks see whiteness as a concept that warrants being despised, hated, destroyed and replaced by an aspiration with more human content in it. At worst blacks envy white society for the comfort it has usurped and at the centre of this envy is the wish—nay, the secret determination—in the innermost minds of most blacks who think like this, to kick whites off those comfortable garden chairs that one sees as he rides in a bus, out of town, and to claim them for themselves. Day by day, one gets more convinced that Aime Cesaire could not have been right when he said "no race possesses the monopoly on truth, intelligence, force and there is room for all of us at the rendezvous of victory."

It may, perhaps, surprise some people that I should talk of whites in a collective sense when in fact it is a particular section i.e. the government—that carries out this unwarranted vendetta against blacks.

There are those whites who will completely disclaim responsibility for the country's inhumanity to the black man. These are the people who are governed by logic for 42 years but by fear at election time. The Nationalist party has perhaps many more En-

glish votes than one imagines. All whites collectively recognise in it a strong bastion against the highly played-up *swart gevaar* [black peril]. One must not underestimate the deeply imbedded fear of the black man so prevalent in white society. Whites know only too well what exactly they have been doing to blacks and logically find reason for the black man to be angry. Their state of insecurity however does not outweigh their greed for power and wealth, hence they brace themselves to react against this rage rather than to dispel it with openmindedness and fair play. This interaction between fear and reaction then sets on a vicious cycle that multiplies both the fear and the reaction. This is what makes meaningful coalitions between the black and white totally impossible. Also this is what makes whites act as a group and hence become culpable as a group.

In any case, even if there was a real fundamental difference in thinking amongst whites vis-a-vis blacks, the very fact that those disgruntled whites remain to enjoy the fruits of the system would alone be enough to condemn them at Nuremburg. Listen to Karl Jaspers writing on the concept of metaphysical guilt:

> There exists amongst men, because they are men, a solidarity through which each shares responsibility for every injustice and every wrong committed in the world and especially for crimes that are committed in his presence or of which he cannot be ignorant. If I do [not] do whatever I can to prevent them, I am an accomplice in them. If I have risked my life in order to prevent the murder of other men, if I have stood silent, I feel guilty in a sense that cannot in any adequate fashion be understood jurisdically or politically or morally . . . That I am still alive after such things have been done weighs on me as a guilt that cannot be expiated.
>
> Somewhere in the heart of human relations, an absolute command imposes itself: in the case of criminal attack or of living conditions that threaten physical being, accept life for all together or not at all.

Thus if whites in general do not like what is happening to the black people, they have the power in them to stop it here and now. We, on the other hand, have every reason to bundle them together and blame them jointly.

One can of course say that blacks too are to blame for allowing the situation to exist. Or to drive the point even further, one may point out that there are black policemen and black special branch agents. To take the last point first, I must state categorically that there is no such thing as a black policeman. Any black man who props the system up actively has lost the right to being considered part of the black world: he has sold his soul for 30 pieces of silver and finds that he is in fact not acceptable to the white society he sought to join. These are colourless white lackeys who live in a marginal world of unhappiness. They are extensions of the enemy into our ranks. On the other hand, the rest of the black world is kept in check purely because of powerlessness.

Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars who smile at the enemy and swear at him in the sanctity of their toilets; who shout "Baas" willingly during the day and call the white man a dog in their buses as they go home. Once again the concept of fear is at the heart of this two-faced behaviour on the part of the conquered blacks.

This concept of fear has now taken a different dimension. One frequently hears people say of someone who has just been arrested or banned—"there is no smoke without fire" or if the guy was outspoken—"he asked for it, I am not surprised.0" In a sense this is almost deifying the security police; they cannot be wrong; if they could break the Rivonia plot, what makes them afraid of an individual to the point of banning him unless there is something—which we do not know? This kind of logic, found to varying degrees in the Afrikaner, the English and the black communities, is dangerous for it completely misses the point and reinforces irrational action on the part of the security police.

The fact of the matter is that the government and its security forces are also ruled by fear, in spite of their immense power. Like anyone living in mortal fear, they occasionally resort to irrational actions in the hope that a show of strength rather than proper intelligence might scare the resistors satisfactorily. This is the basis of security operations in South Africa most of the time. If they know that there are some three missionaries who are dangerous to their interest but whose identity is unknown, they would rather deport about 80 missionaries and hope that the three are among them than use some brains and find out who the three are. This was also the basis of the arrest of about 5,000 during the so-called "Poqo" raids of 1963. And of course the laws from which security police derive their power are so vague and sweeping as to allow for all this. Hence one concludes that the South African security system is force-oriented rather than intelligence-oriented. One may of course add that this type of mentality, in this country, stretches all the way from State security to the style of rugby whites adopt. It has become their way of life.

One will therefore not be surprised if it proves very difficult to accept that "there is room for all of us at the rendezvous of victory." The tripartate system of fear—that of white fearing the blacks, blacks fearing whites and the government fearing blacks and wishing to allay the fear amongst whites—makes it difficult to establish rapport amongst the two segments of the community. The fact of living apart adds a different dimension and perhaps a more serious one—it makes the aspirations of the two groups diametrically opposed. The white strategy so far has been to systematically break down the resistance of the blacks to the point where the latter would accept crumbs from the white table. This we have shown we reject unequivocally; and now the stage is therefore set for a very interesting turn of events.

Source: Steve Biko, *I Write What I Like—Steve Biko, A Selection of His Writings; Edited with a Personal Memoir by Aelred Stubbs* (London: Bowerdean Press, 1978). Copyright 1987 by Father Aelred Stubbs, C. R. Reprinted by permission of HarperCollins.

Lesson Five
States of Emergency

A. Objectives

1. To examine apartheid in crisis and the attempts made to salvage it.
2. To analyze the rationales given by the defenders of apartheid.
3. To evaluate the philosophy of African leaders in the struggle against apartheid.

B. Lesson Activities

1. Read **Document K**, *R. F. Botha Defends South Africa in the United Nations.*

   Discussion Question

   a. What is the tone of R.F. Botha's speech to the United Nations?

   Activity

   b. Have students take the point-of-view of an ambassador from an African country and write a speech in response to Botha, explaining what it is about South Africa and apartheid they find objectionable. They may use any of the earlier documents to help with their argument.

2. Read **Document L**, *A Different Hand On the Tiller.*

   Discussion Questions

   a. What opinion did Mandela and the ANC leadership hold of de Klerk when he was first appointed National Party leader? Explain.

   b. What did de Klerk do to change Mandela's opinion of him?

   c. Mandela identifies de Klerk as a "pragmatist" and not an "ideologue." How can being a pragmatist help someone resolve a difficult issue? How might being a pragmatist sometimes prevent a leader from doing the right thing?

C. Teacher Background Material

In the late 1970s and into the 1980s, international pressures to change or abolish apartheid continued to build. Much of the international community imposed trade sanctions on South Africa in an attempt to force the nation to abandon apartheid. Reform measures were instituted by the government to satisfy some of the critics both at home and abroad, but the hard-line leader President P. W. Botha refused to alter the substance of apartheid. Meanwhile, ANC guerrillas sabotaged South African cities and resistance to the regime became widespread in the townships. Religious leaders took up nonviolent resistance during this period. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, winner of the 1980 Nobel Peace prize, led the way along with, Rev. Allan Boesak and others.

In 1986 the government proclaimed a state of emergency, detaining thousands and refusing to allow the media to report the unrest. In retrospect, it is clear these were the last desperate measures of a dying system. In 1989, F. W. de Klerk succeeded Botha as president and apartheid began to unravel.

R. F. BOTHA DEFENDS SOUTH AFRICA IN THE UNITED NATIONS, 1975

Primary Source

R. F. Botha, foreign minister of South Africa, attempted to defend South Africa's policies in the wake of a draft resolution to expel South Africa from the United Nations. Although the resolution passed, Great Britain, France, and the United States vetoed it. The arguments of the advocates of apartheid evaporated in the aftermath of the Soweto uprising of 1976.

. . . Not for a moment do I wish to pretend that everything in our country is right. But to accuse us of the most evil designs and practices when we have improved the living conditions of all our peoples to the extent that we have, when my Government is making sincere and positive attempts to improve and develop economic, social, and political conditions of all these peoples—not just some of them—and to safeguard their future engenders the strongest suspicion that what some members of this Organization aim is not so much the advancement of the peoples of our region but the pursuance of their own selfish political ends. It is in regard to these very real efforts of ours that we consider the members of this organization and in particular many of our fellow African states have displayed towards us an unjustified antagonism and a lack of tolerance of interest and of understanding our ultimate objectives. They have, we feel, not responded to nor given us any credit or recognition at all for what we are trying to do in order to give every person in our country, Black and White, a fair deal from life. On the contrary many of these members simply ignore the important changes which have occurred and are occurring in South Africa—information about them seems sometimes to be deliberately suppressed.

I would be naive, Sir, to pretend that I do not know why it is that members of this Organization, especially the African members, display towards us this antagonism, this lack of goodwill. It is basically because these members think that the Whites of South Africa have some inborn hatred and prejudice against the Blacks, that they consider themselves to be superior or in some way better than the Blacks and that on these grounds they discriminate against them in order to deny them fundamental rights and freedoms.

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I shall return to this point. For the moment let me just state categorically that whatever the attitude of the White man to the Black man in the past might have been, that is not the attitude of the vast majority of White South Africans today . . .

Our policy is not based on any concepts of superiority or inferiority, but on the historical fact that different peoples differ in their loyalties, cultures, outlook and modes of life and that they wish to retain them . . .

Source: F. R. Metrowich, ed., *Towards Dialogue and Detente,* (Sandton: Valiant Publishers, 1975), pp. 56–61, as quoted in John A. Williams, *From the South African Past: Narratives, Documents, and Debates* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997), 331–332.

A DIFFERENT HAND ON THE TILLER

Although imprisoned for 27 years by the South African government, Nelson Mandela emerged from prison in February 1990 unmarked by bitterness. In his autobiography, *Long Walk To Freedom*, Mandela recounted the beginning of the end of apartheid when F. W. de Klerk acceded to power.

A little over than a month later, in August 1989, P. W. Botha went on national television to announce his resignation as state president. In a curiously rambling farewell address, he accused cabinet members of a breach of trust, of ignoring him and of playing into the hands of the African National Congress. The following day F. W. de Klerk was sworn in as acting president and affirmed his commitment to change and reform.

To us, Mr. de Klerk was a cipher. When he became head of the National Party, he seemed to be the quintessential party man, nothing more and nothing less. Nothing in his past seemed to hint at a spirit of reform. As education minister, he had attempted to keep black students out of white universities. But as soon as he took over the National Party, I began to follow him closely. I read all of his speeches, listened to what he said, and began to see that he represented a genuine departure from his predecessor. He was not an ideologue, but a pragmatist, a man who saw change as necessary and inevitable. One the day he was sworn in, I wrote him a letter requesting a meeting.

In his inaugural address, Mr. de Klerk said his government was committed to peace and that it would negotiate with any group committed to peace. But his commitment to a new order was demonstrated only after his inauguration when a march was planned to protest police brutality. It was to be led by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Reverend Allan Boesak. Under President Botha, the march would have been banned, marchers would have defied that ban, and violence would have resulted. The new president lived up to his promise to ease restrictions on political gatherings and permitted the march to take place, only asking that the demonstrators remain peaceful. A new and different hand was on the tiller.

Source: Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1994), 480-81.

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Lesson Six
Nelson Mandela and the New South Africa

A. Objectives

1. To analyze the issues facing South Africa in the post-apartheid era.
2. To analyze the personal and political philosophy as a model of public behavior.
3. To evaluate the goals and outcomes of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

B. Lesson Activities

1. Read **Document M**, *Long Walk To Freedom.*

   Discussion Questions

   a. What is the "secret" that Mandela has discovered?

   b. In what ways are the oppressors in need of liberation as much as the oppressed?

   c. What, according to Mandela, is the true test of one's devotion to freedom?

2. Read **Document N**, *Truth: The Road To Reconciliation*

   Discussion Questions

   1. According to the author, what are some of the "dangers and pitfalls" South Africa may fall victim to if it is not careful?

   2. What does the author mean when he says "human rights is not the preserve of the few but the birthright of every citizen?"

   3. Based on what you know about South Africa and the history of apartheid, do you think creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was the right approach or should a war crimes tribunal have been put into place to try the leaders of the former government? Explain.

3. Read **Document O**, *Africa's White Tribe Fears Past Is Prologue.*

   Discussion Questions

   1. What are some of the main concerns of Afrikaners in South Africa today?

b. How would you advise an Afrikaner parent to speak to his/her child about the South African past?

c. Do you believe Afrikaners can play an important role in the future in the creation of a democratic, multi-racial South Africa? Explain.

4. Read **Document P**, *Apartheid Ministers Still Lying, Says Tutu.*

Discussion Questions

a. What is the source of Archbishop Tutu's frustration?

b. Why do you think the former leaders of apartheid have refused to be honest about their actions and to ask for forgiveness?

C. Teacher Background Materials

Under President F. W. de Klerk, South Africa legalized the ANC in 1990 and began negotiations to enact a new constitution that would end apartheid. In 1994 the Homelands were abolished, and the first multiracial elections were held. The ANC won a resounding victory and Nelson Mandela was elected president. Some black leaders wanted to punish the white officials responsible for apartheid and the atrocities committed in its name. There were suggestions to set up a war crimes tribunal similar to the Nuremberg Court where the Allies after World War II tried, convicted, and punished Nazi war criminals. However, a moderate agreement was made during the creation of the Interim Constitution of 1993 to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. It operated from April of 1996 through August of 1998.

The commission was created to investigate apartheid era atrocities "to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on a morally accepted basis and to advance the cause of reconciliation." The country has undergone many transformations since the death of apartheid. This nonracial democracy, based on a recognition of universal human rights, faces an uncertain future, with soaring crime, high unemployment, and ethnic tension. Despite these problems, most South Africa are committed to preserving a constitutional democracy.

LONG WALK TO FREEDOM
Primary Source

Although he was in his early seventies when he was released form prison, Nelson Mandela realized that he alone had the experience and understanding to guide South Africa into the post-apartheid era. Elected president in 1994, he has navigated the country through this difficult time with skill and discipline while maintaining a warm and friendly public presence.

I am no more virtuous or self-sacrificing than the next man, but I found that I could not even enjoy the poor and limited freedoms I was allowed when I knew my people were not free. Freedom is indivisible; the chains on any one of my people were the chains on me.

It was during those long and lonely years that my hunger for the freedom of my own people became a hunger for the freedom of all people, white and black. I knew as well as I knew anything that the oppressor must be liberated just as surely as the oppressed. A man who takes away another man's freedom is a prisoner of hatred, he is locked behind the bars of prejudice and narrow-mindedness. I am not truly free if I am taking away someone else's freedom, just as surely as I am not free when my freedom is taken from me. The oppressor and the oppressed alike are robbed of their humanity.

When I walked out of prison, that was my mission, to liberate the oppressor and the oppressed both. Some say that has now been achieved. But I know that is not the case. The truth is that we are not yet free; we have merely achieved the freedom to be free, the right not to be oppressed. We have not taken the final step of our journey, but the first step on a longer and even more difficult road. For to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others. The true test of our devotion to freedom is just beginning.

I have walked that long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter; I have made missteps along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But I

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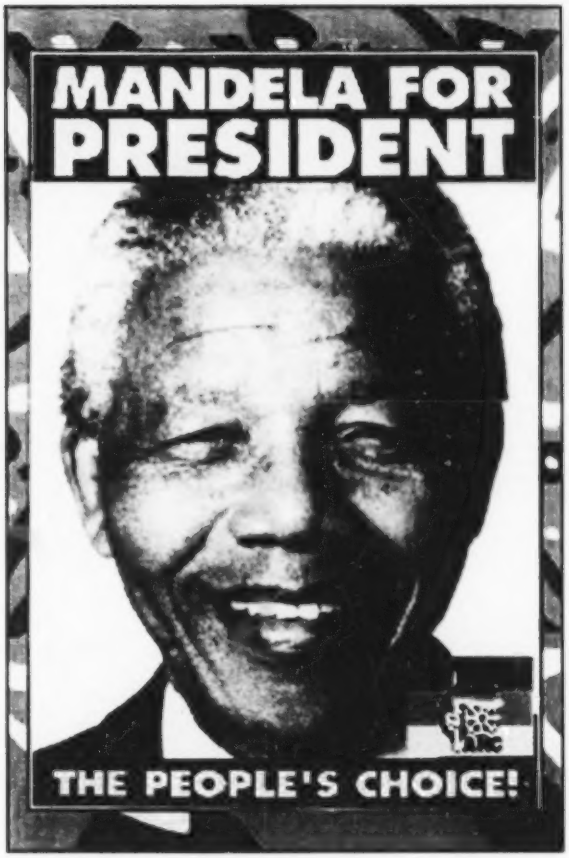
can rest only for a moment, for with freedom comes responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my walk is not yet ended.

Source: Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk To Freedom* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1994), 544.

Nelson Mandela, Original 1994 Election Poster



African National Congress

TRUTH: THE ROAD TO RECONCILIATION

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was created with the power to grant amnesty to individuals in return for full confession of political crime. In writing the introduction to the Truth and Reconciliation committee's founding document, Dullah Omar, the post-apartheid era's first minister of justice, gives full credit to Nelson Mandela for setting the tone of healing and removing the specter of revenge from the political landscape of the new South Africa.

The President believes—and many of us support him in this belief—that the truth concerning human rights violations in our country cannot be suppressed or simply forgotten. They ought to be investigated, recorded and made known. Therefore, the President supports the setting up of a Commission of Truth and Reconciliation. The democratic government is committed to the building up of a human rights culture in our land.

There is a commitment to break from the past, to heal the wounds of the past, to forgive but not to forget and to build a future based on respect for human rights. This new reality in the human rights situation in South Africa places a great responsibility upon all of us. Human rights is not a gift handed down as a favour by government or state to loyal citizens. It is the right of each and every citizen. Part of our joint responsibility is to illuminate the way, chart the road forward and provide South Africa with beacons or guidelines based on international experiences as we traverse the transition. We must guard against dangers and pitfalls! We must involve our citizens in the debate so as to ensure that human rights is not the preserve of the few but the birthright of every citizen! We must embark upon the journey from the past, through our transition and into a new future.

I wish to stress that the objective of the exercise is not to conduct a witch hunt or to drag violators of human rights before court to face charges. However, it must be stressed that a commission is a necessary exercise to enable South Africans to come to terms with their past on a morally accepted basis and to advance the cause of reconciliation. I invite you to join in the search for truth without which there can be no genuine reconciliation.

Source: Dullah Omar in the introduction to the *Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act*, No. 34 of 1995, 2.

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THE CHANGING POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

With apartheid over, white South Africans, Afrikaners in particular, have struggled to find their place in the changing political landscape. The following article form the *New York Times* illustrates some of the issues facing Africaners today.

AFRICA'S 'WHITE TRIBE' FEARS DARK PAST IS PROLOGUE

JOHANNESBURG, Feb. 21 -- As an 11th generation Afrikaner, Christoff Heyns struggles these days over what to teach his three children about their heritage. He is uncomfortable with the seemingly innocent elements of his own childhood like khaki shorts which ultimately became a symbol of the Afrikaner right wing. He examines traditional songs for racist undertones. He picks through historical figures for those worth admiring.

It is a strange time, he says. On the one hand it is liberating to know that the apartheid system is dead. "We can get on with our lives and not have to worry about being the ones running the evil empire anymore," he said.

But he now must carve out a new identity in a new South Africa. He wonders what future the country will offer his children. Will the new government stick to its promises of equality for all, or take revenge on them for the sins of their ancestors.

"We have to take from the past what is good," he said, "to cut our losses and build something new." But, he asked with a sigh, how?

Nearly four years after South Africa held its first all-race elections and the white supremacist Government was forced to hand over power to a black majority, many Afrikaners, the descendants of Dutch, German and French settlers who ruled for most of this century, are groping for honorable berths in the new order. None are finding it easy.

Compared to the hardships they imposed on blacks, their complaints seem slight indeed; but they are nonetheless painful for the,

Many feel humiliated and powerless and think their very existence is under attack. They point to the work of the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission which nearly every day hears former police and army officials with Afrikaner surnames confess to torture and murder. They say new legislation threatens to force public schools that teach in Afrikaans, an offshoot of Dutch, to switch to English or African languages. And the civil service, once an employment agency for Afrikaners, now almost exclusively hires blacks. Income surveys indicate that Afrikaners are slipping down in the economic ladder for the first time in decades.

Source: Suzanne Daley, *New York Times*, February 22, 1998, pp. 1, 9.

APARTHEID MINISTER STILL LYING, SAYS TUTU

The Truth and Reconciliation commission has been hailed as a model for countries with history of internal strife that wish to address issues peacefully. Its success, however, must await the test of time, as the following report indicates.

JOHANNESBURG: Archbishop Desmond Tutu has published a searing attack on his country's former white leaders, saying most had lied to his post-apartheid truth commission.

"True reconciliation cannot be based on lies," he said in an article of Johannesburg's *The Star* newspaper yesterday.

Archbishop Tutu, the chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which ended a two-year probe into apartheid's human rights record on Friday, said whites had not matched the willingness of their black victims to forgive.

"My dear white compatriots . . . you have been let down by most of your leaders, who have made you out to be too mean-spirited to respond to the incredible magnanimity and generosity of the victims," he said.

The archbishop, former head of the Anglican Church in southern Africa and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize for his fight against white rule, said the commission could have done better to heal the wounds of apartheid which ended in 1994.

He said most apartheid-era ministers had refused to testify or to seek amnesty for human rights offences, saying they had fought a just war against Nelson Mandela's African National Congress and its one-time communist allies. The few who did appear had hidden behind lies or qualified admissions of limited guilt.

Source: *Reuters* — www-blockbusternet.lycos.com/wguide/tools/pgview (05/08/98)

UN Photo#187163C by Milton Grant

On 20 March [1997], Secretary-General Kofi Annan (left) talks with Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, in the offices of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Capetown, South Africa.

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